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ABSTRACT

A study examined how educational indicators such as high school diplomas, grades, courses taken, and experience are used by employers for hiring purposes. Data were collected through participatory observation (the researcher applied for entry-level and temporary jobs and worked for a few months) and a literature review. The results showed no detailed selection criteria nor any educational qualifications for entry-level temporary jobs. Grades and academic achievement did not seem important to employers, although a high school diploma and mathematics, language, and reasoning abilities were important. Employers especially valued dependability, hard work, and appropriate dress. In general, educators seemed more interested in job applicants' education than in their vocational training, since training can be acquired in a short-term course. Results suggest that students will not value academic achievement if it is not valued in the work world; some changes in policy and employer attitudes may be useful to students. The findings suggest that educators should think of education as preparation for the whole life of individuals, so that students not only graduate but are also able to apply what they learn in the workplace. (Contains 20 references.) (KC)

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Relationship Between Education and Employment:How Do Employers Use Educational Indicators in Hiring? (Results from A Participatory Observation)*

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Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between education and employment. Based on this general purpose, the study examines how educational indicators such as diploma, grades, courses, and experience are being used by employers for hiring in a general employment process.

In this study, I focused on the educational characteristics which can be important for employers to hire and /or to continue hiring and actually are being seen in the labor market. Some vital skills and characteristics in working and in hiring also were reviewed. In this study, I did not attempt to large specifications list which may be used in all kind business activities, but tried to illustrate some vital qualifications.

Method of the Study

In the study, participatory observation as a qualitative method and literature review were used to collect data. To collect data the researcher applied to employment agencies and companies to get job, and worked a few months as an employee and a temporary worker..

A model was also developed by the researcher to explain access to employment process with networking to educational institutions and qualifications based on information collected from labor market by participatory observation. Besides related research and studies reviewed used to interpret what I observed in the labor market.

Conclusions

- Part-time or temporary work has a vital impact on the employment market. This type of employment supports the segmentation theories. Especially, in primary market these positions provide a selection and waiting place. But , there is not a detailed selection criteria or any educational qualifications to enter that types of jobs.
- Job search time to enter entry level jobs for youngsters where I observed does not take a long time. Applicants found the entry level jobs in a short time if they accepted a market wage level.
- Education is not a selection criteria to enter entry level jobs. Even grade and academic achievement or school level is not an important indicator to enter entry-level jobs. But some educational

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* Paper was prepared for World Council for Curriculum & Instruction Region VI, North American Chapter Interdisciplinary Education Conference Theme: Educational Networking :Making Connections for the 21st Century. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. October 1-3, 1998. It is first draft report of the research and will be developed after some discussions and suggestions of the colleagues.

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indicators and qualifications are being used to select the employee for upper level jobs from entry level jobs, or from external market.

- While hiring to internal labor market jobs, as educational qualifications being high school graduate, math, language, reasoning abilities are important are being used as criteria but grade and academic achievement in school. Physical dependability also is an important qualification for many kind job. On the other hand some general requirements about working, such as being on time; working good, hard, fast; dressing appropriate to workplace, etc. are more stressed on the workplaces as significant behaviors.
- Education and training or experience can be exchanged in hiring. Employers are interested in education while emphasizing mostly some certain employability skills. Then, a high school degree may be equal to a short time training or experience to get a full time primary market job. However, employers emphasize basic and academic skills and knowledge more than vocational when hiring. This gives the credit to educational degrees, because these skills and knowledge can be learned in long term instead of in a short term training.

Policy Implications

Entry level jobs are seem to be the face of the employment market. Temporary hiring is also being supported by employers and it is being used as a selection tool for appropriate workers to access upper level positions. This process can cause a misunderstanding in youth such as education and academic achievement and/or academic skills are not important to get job. So why should they study too much in the school?

These conclusions should cause us to think about some policy and behavior implications that are related to both sides of education and work relationship. Employers can design their selection criteria more clearly to include some educational indicators that match the skills they are seeking.

Paying criteria may support educational qualifications not only for upper level but also entry level. These provide the signal for high school students who especially are work bound. But, at the same time, the educational system must provide the opportunities to all citizens and age populations equally. Otherwise, this will to carry to the future the current inequalities.

Educators should think of education as a whole for individuals, societal, work, and life. All students should be aware of which specifications are important in life after school for jobs or to enter the business world. They should be aware of that not only being graduated from high school but also learning and being able to do what they have learned are very important in the work world and, of course, in the life after school.

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Introduction

Education is an important aspect of human life. Thinking of education as human capital motivates societies to invest in education to raise productivity, and to increase individual and social benefits. Education can be produced in a number of ways such as by private or public educational institutions, working places or by cooperation of both at different levels. Mainly, societies provide education in schools which largely depend on state control and contexts of programs are determined often by state-related institutions. Although many collaborative educational activities are carried out by different groups such as non-profit organizations, business organizations, and state educational institutions, decisions on education are mostly made by government-related institutions. However, the business community affects the educational system by expecting certain kinds of educational skills, and/or qualifications. In many situations, success for an educational institution can be evaluated according to the rate of graduates who are enrolled in higher education, and are employed with high position/high rate wages. Using educational indicators in hiring is an important support for schooling and especially schools that produce

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the skills which workplaces prefer. Using educational qualifications to hire in the business world affects the schooling type, context of education, and decision making of families about the type of education for their children as well as graduates' decisions to enter work. It is important to understand how the system of transition to jobs works and which educational characteristics or indicators are being used in the labor market.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between education and employment. Based on this general purpose, the study examines how educational indicators such as diploma, grades, courses, and experience are being used by employers for hiring in a general employment process.

In this study, I have attempted to look closely at hiring practices by employers related to educational indicators. This subject has several basic aspects such as transition from school to employment, wages according to educational level and educational achievement, basic learning places for preparing to work, important skills to be hired/or what type of skills are desired by employers, using level of educational skills (gained from schools) in the job, etc. Although these dimensions of relationship between education and employment are directly related with one other, I focused on the educational characteristics which can be important for employers to hire and/or to continue hiring and actually are being seen in the labor market. Some vital skills and characteristics in working and in hiring also were reviewed. In this study, I did not attempt to present a large specifications list which, may be used in all kind business activities, but tried to illustrate some vital qualifications.

Method of the Study

In the study, participatory observation as a qualitative method (Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Bogdan and Biklen 1992) and literature review were used to collect data. To collect data, I (the researcher) applied to employment agencies and companies to get a job, and worked a few months as an employee and a temporary worker. During the working period, I asked many employees how they got their job and what was important to get a job, especially if education was important and if they participated in a training program on the job. Also, I followed job postings which already were announced to all workers, to determine which requirements were needed to apply and what was important in the working process. During the observation period I applied to three different employment agencies, one large scale service producing company where I worked for one month and joined a paid orientation training for 17 hours; I worked for a goods-producing company (manufacturing) for three months. Before starting at those workplaces, I worked for a short time for a service and a food producing company in Greater Cincinnati. Because of being a stranger to mentioned labor market for evaluating it and problems within it, being a participant observer helped me to understand the market in a shorter time and provide the finance to carry out the observation.

The study does not include a structured questionnaire or questions list. Firstly the researcher tried to observe and understand the general process for employment, then relationship between education and employment by being a participant observer.

A model was also developed by the researcher to explain accessing to the labor market and employment by networking with educational institutions and qualifications based on information collected from the labor market by participatory observation. Also

included is related research as well as studies reviewed and used to interpret what I observed in the labor market.

Literature Review

There are some different approaches about what is the best way to help students in their future life and especially work life (Levin 1995). Here, I will mention some theories and approaches about the relationship between education and employment and employer decisions in hiring which are well known in economics of education.

Labor Market Theories

I would like to mention that education as a facilitator to enter the work world should not be thought of just for vocational education programs but also general education. We should consider that almost all non-college bound graduates from high schools need to enter the work world. Finding work is a main concern for those youngsters, but studies about employment and education or transition from school to work are mostly interested in the vocational and technical education and/or school-workplace partnership (Lewis, 1997).

Employers' ideas and expectations about employment, employee skills, and hiring methods are accepted as a direction by educators, education researchers and educational institutions. Naturally, the educational system takes into account those expectations and tries to define them by cooperating, researching and other ways. On the other side, business participation in education is not so strong, especially in some vocational training programs in the United States. Some researchers and educators mentioned that the American business world is not involved in with education as much as some developed European countries such as Germany (Lewis 1990; Bailey and Merrit 1993; Hamilton 1990). Actually this partnership brings some responsibilities and costs to companies. Why would employers be

willing to participate in work based education programs? Bailey (1995) discusses that subject and focuses on three types of motivation.

> The first is philantropic, based on a conviction among employers that they should contribute to the improvement of their communities. The second and third types of motivation are based on employers' self-interest. Participation may be in the direct interest of the individual employer: individual motivation. Or employers may not expect to gain in the short run from their industry or occupational group could benefit if many employers participate: collective motivation (Bailey 1995, p.15).

There are some theories of relation between education and work. These theories have been affected by the aims of the users who will use the information.

> Theories of the relation between education and work can be either positive or normative. Positive approaches represent attempts to explain the observed connections between education and work and how they developed. In contrast, normative approaches tend to focus on what should be the relation between education and work. That is, normative theories emphasize an ethical or moral approach to the issue rather than attempting to explain what exists or has existed. Educators are particularly concerned with the normative view, since it has important implications for designing the structure and content of schooling, that is, what should be thought and how. Social scientists and educational planners are especially concerned with positive theories for explaining the relation between education and work. For social scientists, this relationship is an important puzzle that needs to be understood; for planners, it is necessary to grasp the behavioral connections that link

education and work in order to plan and implement educational reforms that are designed to prepare the young better for the workplace (Levin 1995, p.13).

Some researchers focused on the segmentation of the labor market. Some theories also mention segmentation of the market created by political and economic forces. Reich and others (Reich, Gordon and Edwards 1977) define that labor market segmentations is an outcome of the four segmentation processes. These are segmentation into primary and secondary markets, segmentation within the primary sector, segmentation by race, segmentation by sex.

DeFreitas defined the segmentation of the labor market into primary and secondary segmants as cited to Doeringer and Piore (1971) as the

> labor market is divided into two separate submarkets; the 'primary' and the 'secondary' segments. The former is characterized by jobs offering relatively high wages and fringe benefits, good working conditions and training, promotional paths governed by seniority, and protection from arbitrary dismissal. Jobs in the secondary sector are, in contrast, low-paying with few benefits, training, or promotional chances, poor working conditions, and frequent quits and discharges (DeFreitas 1995, p.39).

Another theory also concerned with education and work subjects is internal labor markets theory as related to the primary market.

> Internal labor markets are a prominent organizational feature of the labor market landscape in industrialized countries and are characteristic of the large- enterprise sector in developing countries. The most widely studied internal labor markets are those for blue-collar jobs in large manufacturing plants, but internal labor markets

are found in most other sectors and occupations. The typical example of an internal labor market in the United States is that described in Doeringer and Piore (1971). Work tasks are organized into well-defined jobs and jobs are arranged into the hierarchical promotion and training ladders that define the structure of the internal labor market (Doeringer 1995, p.28).

DeFreitas(1995) stated that the educational impact on wages depends on internal labor market theories.

Since wages are attached to specific jobs rather than to individual workers, the economic value of education is not primarily a result of its impact on labor productivity. Instead, educational credentials are used by employers to screen out less trainable, less reliable job applicants. Better educated workers generally stand to benefit from greater access to primary sector jobs and promotional ladders, but the returns to education for those left behind in the secondary sector are lower or even nil. (DeFreitas 1995, p.39)

Hinchliffe (1995) identified more general theories of labor market in three major approaches.

The first is grounded on the argument that the educational system in such a way that it directly adds to an individual's cognitive abilities. These abilities range from basic numeracy and literacy at one end of the scale to a greater capacity for logical and analytical reasoning at the other. These increased abilities lead to higher earnings. A second approach also maintains that schools are effective in changing a person but the important changes are not those of cognitive abilities. Class background is here seen as the major determinant of occupation and income, and the educational system

> is said to operate in such a way that it develops different sets of productivity- related personality traits among children from different social classes. This both legitimizes the distribution of jobs, which simply perpetuates the existing structure of social class, and also increases the productivity of all classes in their ascribed occupations. Traits produced by schools in those individuals who will fill low paid jobs include punctuality, obedience, and respect for authority, while traits induced in those destined for high-status occupations include self-reliance and the ability to make decisions. Finally, there is a set of approaches which directly questions the view that through the development of either cognitive abilities or personality traits, schools increase the potential productivity of individuals. Rather, the educational system is said to act simply as a selection mechanism to sort out those who possess non-school related characteristics such as intelligence and motivation, which are in some way connected to productivity. Schooling itself does not affect productivity. (Hinchliffe 1995, p.21)

Signalling and screening models submit that employers take into account education as a signalling method and screening device.

> A basic assumption in the human capital model is that an increase in educational attainment or training leads to an increase in productivity and that this in turn leads to higher wages. In Spence (1973) it is argued that another purpose of education and training is to provide a signalling method for high productivity. A related idea is that firms may use such information as a screening device to distinguish the potential productivity of workers. The argument has been commonly used for education rather than training, although, as Blaug (1976) points out, most educational

qualifications, especially those in higher education, appear at first sight to be a very expensive signalling mechanism (Chapman 1993, p.41).

Related Studies

Some researchers and public institutions carried out many studies on the relationship between education and employment from different aspects. Some of them have focused on the vital characteristics and skills employers take into account in their hiring decisions.

Lewis and associates carried out a study (1990), named "Review of Vocational Education in the Cincinnati Public Schools", in which they showed that the number of job openings are affecting young people, especially unskilled youth, to enter the employment. They mentioned that

> high school graduates and dropouts looking for full-time work face tough competition in the labor market. They usually end up in secondary market jobs competing with recent immigrants, college students looking for part-time work, young mothers and others re-entering the labor force, and the elderly looking to supplement income (Lewis and Others, 1990, p.12).

Lewis and others (1990) interviewed 26 employers from the Cincinnati community and one of the aims of the research was to define the typical skills needed by their employees. Lewis and associates mentioned the economic conjuncture helps young high school graduates to a rapid transition to job in the primary sector but if the skill requirements increase, many youngsters will not be able to enter jobs in the primary market . They suggest that "vocational programs could play a significant role in bridging the gap between the secondary and primary labor markets. Skill development and training should focus on relevant and marketable skills in the upper end of the labor market" (1990, p.45). In their research, desired skills merged in five categories despite having been asked an open-ended

question (1990, p.53). These are

> (1) basic skills (including reading, writing, following directions, problem solving as well as general math, science, and mechanical skills); (2) specific technical skills (such as data entry, how to use specific tools, how to work safely, typing, culinary skills, a specific kind of 2-year degree, pipe fitting, welding, and most importantly, specific practical hands-on experience); (3) interpersonal skills (including good public relations, public speaking, getting along with others, being a 'team player,' good telephone skills, having a positive attitude, and conveying a high degree of motivation and enthusiasm); (4) employability skills (including interviewing and application skills, punctuality, attendance, having realistic expectations, and understanding employer expectations); and (5) computer literacy and skills.

On the other hand, community leaders' views about skills needed by present and future workers were not very different. Their views about skills were also categorised as (1) basic skills, (2) specific technical skills, (3) employability skills, (4) interpersonal skills and (5) computer skills. Besides, basic skills are mentioned more frequently by most respondents compared to other skills: Basic skills 64%, specific technical skills 42%, computer skills 39%, interpersonal skills 23%, and employability skills 13% (Lewis and others 1990, p.57-58).

Some qualitative studies show that hiring decisions in the US are " a simple market decisions between youths and employers". Rosenbaum and Kariya (1991, p.81) stated that "many different studies have found the same result: School evaluations like grades and test scores have little effect on which youths get jobs, better jobs, or better wages". "Thus, employers do not seek schools' advice for their hiring decisions and do not use schools'

evaluations for their hiring and placement decisions" "(Rosenbaum and Kariya 1991, p.82). However, in a study, Rosenbaum and Binder (1997) found that employers seek and use academic qualifications in the workplaces.

The Employment and Training administration of the U.S. Department of Labor and the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD) conducted an analysis of the skills employers seek in potential employees. The study shows that employers prefer basic academic skills, communication and problem solving skills more than technical skills. (Passmore 1997, p.26).

U.S. Department of Labor Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS) prepared a report through interviews with business owners, public employers, union officials, and line workers.

> The SCANS study report identifies five major competencies and three foundation areas that are required for entry-level job performance. Competent workers, according to the SCANS study, can allocate resources; have good interpersonal skills; can acquire, use, and communicate information; understand the socio-technical systems of work; and can work with a variety of technologies (Passmore 1997, p.27).

Some studies, such as a government commissioned report, Workforce 2000, forecast that in the future, skills requirements will be increase. Some other studies have found that employers prefer the increase of the basic skills (Passmore 1997, p.25-26). On the other hand there are some ideas and questions which were put forward as to which skill requirements of the economy in the future may not increase, but may be decline (Passmore 1997, p.25)

There are some concerns about the perception of employers about entry level workers' skill requirements. Passmore stated criticisms such as

> I believe that employers' perceptions of requirements for entry-level workers are interesting and, at certain stages of educational planning are worthy and necessary. However, I do not believe that they are definitive or sufficient for establishment of policy to guide public investment in education for work (1997, p.28).

There are some other critics of workforce training and work organizations in the U.S (Levin 1995, Marshal and Tucker 1992). According to Marshall and Tucker

> Unfortunately for the United States, high-performance work organizations hinge on a well-educated work force. The U.S. system of educating and training workers has been shaped around the meager demands of 'scientific management', where employers design the jobs of their front-line workers so that they require little knowledge or ability. U.S. skill requirements look more like those of Third World countries than those of the leading industrial nations" (1992, p.54).

The studies show that main desired skills for entry level jobs are more related with basic or academic education subjects and can be taken into account in general education manner more than vocational training in the United States.

Other Countries

Breen and Hannan (1993) examined for Irish employers' the use of educational credentials. They tried to analyze "which educational qualifications are used by employers in Ireland in making decisions about whether or not to employ school leavers and about the wages they offer them" (1993, p.258). In the study, researchers stated that

> no work has as yet been undertaken to test whether or not this specification of educational qualification is the most appropriate, in the sense of reflecting the way in

which employers interpret and use such qualifications and credentials in making decisions about who to employ and how much to pay them (1993, p.258).

They used data from "Annual School-leaver Surveys, which have been carried out each year since 1980 by the Economic and Social Research Institute on behalf of the Department of Labour". They found that

> in Ireland labor market returns to education among school leavers, measured as the chances of having a job and earnings in a job, are highly sensitive both to the level of education reached (measured by highest public examination sat) and the level of performance at that level (measured by grade point average in that examination). Cruder measures of education, including the basic pass/fail distinction proved much less adequate. This strongly suggests that employers are indeed making use of quite fine educational differences when making decisions about who to employ and what wages to pay (Breen and Hannan 1993 p.272)

In Turkey, Aksoy carried out a research study about the relationship between education and employment for graduates from industrial technical high schools. In the study, the researcher used a questionnaire for both employee graduates and employers of the companies which were located at metal industry Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. For this research 52 company managers were questioned about which qualifications they were expecting for semi-skilled new entrants who graduated from industrial technical schools. In the study it was found that grades are not important, but occupational adequacy, team working, communication skills, open mind to innovations, to be graduated from a school that was related with the job, hand skills, being able to do something alone, and work experience were important. According to the research, foreign language, sex, references and

grade point average are not significant variables to be preferred in hiring (Aksoy 1995).

Rosenbaum and Kariya (1991) mentioned some studies about the relationship between Japan's labor market and schools. Japanese schools and employers have long-standing relationships and "youth's job applications are controlled by schools, and youths are hired before they graduate". In this case, "Japanese employers are concerned that newly hired high school graduates have basic academic skills, and they prefer to hire students with higher academic achievement" (Rosenbaum and Kariya 1991, p.83)

Findings

Here, the researcher developed a general model for the relationship between education and employment. This model consists of main structures and effective variables of the employment process in the labor market. Some observations and findings will be given about the other aspects of hiring related to educational indicators.

A General Model of the Relationship Between Educational Indicators and Employment

Figure 1 shows the main transition structure in the labor market. In the model, it seems that the starting point is high school, but anyone who likes to start from an earlier stage may take it from the family.

This model includes employment qualifications and criteria, but does not include detailed qualifications needed to access employment. I hope that after the model, some more detailed explanations that come from observation will help to understand that process better.

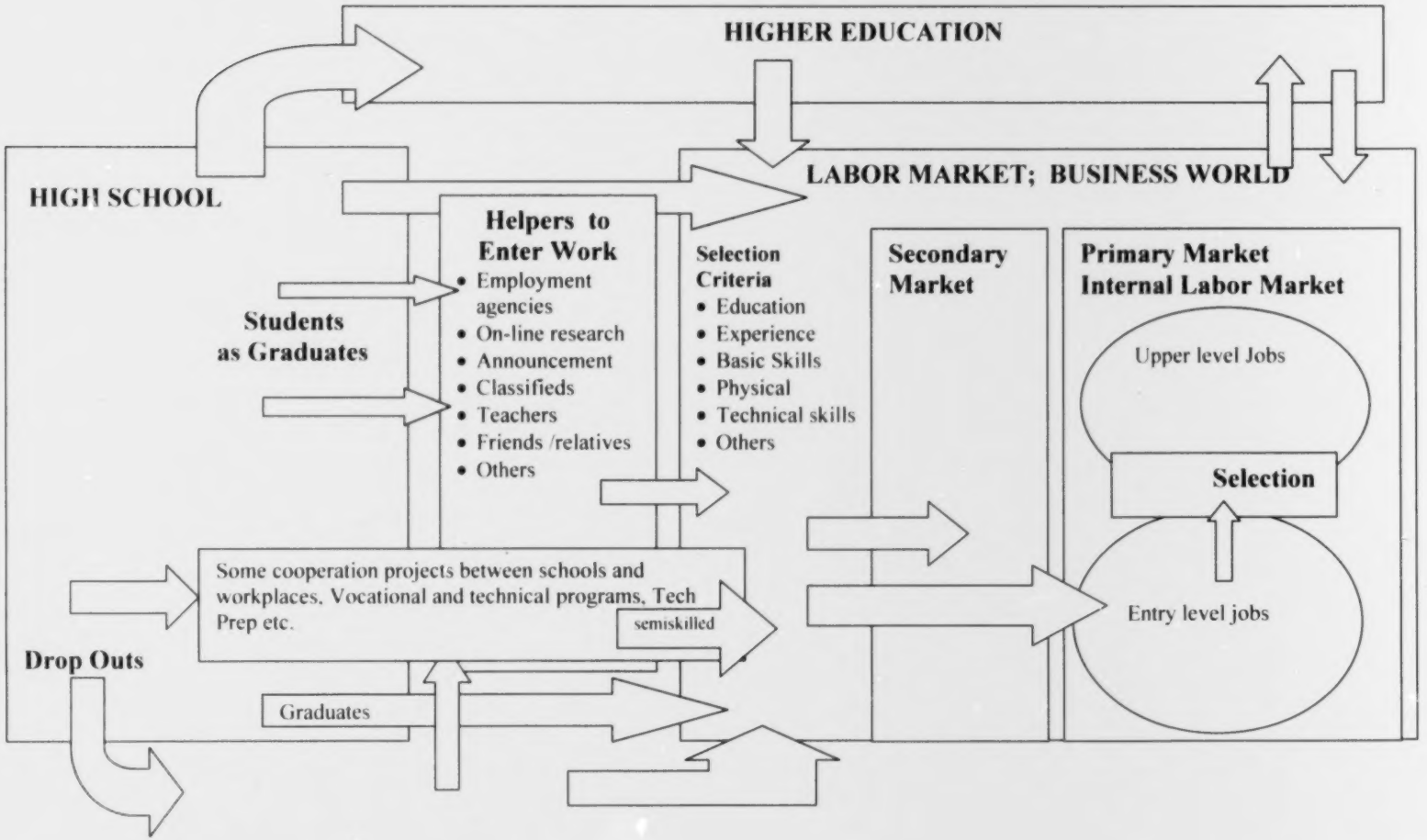
The Ways to Get Job and Search Time

In the labor market, ways to get a job can vary for the type of jobs and the level of the position. This study is focused on entry level jobs for the Greater Cincinnati area.

Since job search time is an indicator for employment possibilities I would like to mention the access time for the jobs to which I applied. I applied four times to get a job in five months. Three different employment agencies and one directly to company's human resources. I selected the employment companies from the phone directory according to proximity from my home. Every application provided me with a job. First, I worked in a factory for 10 days by an employment agency. With my second application to a different employment company, I worked 1 day in a food-producing factory. The third application was for a service-producing company directly and it was in the primary market. I worked there for about one month, then I applied to a new employment agency for light industry jobs. I took a test for those types of jobs and the day after the application I started to work in a goods-producing company in the plastics industry. I worked there for about three months. Here I will try to share some observations and special situations about the relationship between employment and education, not related to confidential positions or technical methods of those companies.

In the goods-producing industry (plastics manufacturing) starting the job was through an employment service agency. Directly applying to the company was also a way, but it seems that it was not a common way. Most employees, who were not working as a technician, namely, the packers, operators, etc., started to work through an employment agency. Full-time and pay-rolled workers also said that they started as temporary workers. As a policy, workers are working up to six months as a temporary. In this period, they have to apply for pay-rolled permanent positions. Otherwise, they have to access another workplace by an employment agency or any way they choose. Many of the workers think that applying to employment agencies is an easy way to get a job. They think that

Figure 1
A MODEL FOR RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT



employment agencies can provide more information about jobs, and youngsters cannot know job offers as well as firms. A young girl, 21 years old and a graduate from high school, said that she could not seek many workplace to enter the workplace. Temporary employment agencies provided her an easy way. This type of reasoning was mentioned by some other temporary workers.

I talked to some workers who were in low economic level, had no car, were selecting those companies because they have no other transportation. One of them said that, the temporary employment agencies provide car pool, sometimes at the agency' expense, so it was helpful to be in the job. In a job, its wage was lowest ($5.15per hour), a worker told me they are accepting the lowest wage because they do not have a car and if the employment company does not provide transportation, it is too hard to reach the job regularly. So this transportation service was solving some problems for them. Another reason he told me is that they don't need to go every day to work. They were working when they liked but for less.

A few employees think that working for an employment agency provides more flexibility. They feel more flexible about how long they will work and when they will change their job. Another significant reason was that if they are fired from a work place for any reason it will be harder to get a new one and they believe that a solid working history is important to employers. Work history is helpful if it has positive experiences , otherwise , it may affect negatively to enter a new job.

The labor market where I worked and observed was segmented. Selection to enter entry level jobs was not very detailed. Just understanding some instructions and a having physical ability may be enough to start to work. Advancing to a full-time position, means higher rates and more working, requires employees to have more skills and complete some more paper works.

In the service producing company, the hiring method was somewhat more complex and carried out by a human resources manager. I completed many forms to apply for that job. Educational level also was mentioned to be written in those papers. I observed similar access structures in service the company. While applying to the job, the human resource manager mentioned that everyone starts at the bottom, even she started at the bottom. Advancing to upper positions depends upon years worked in the company (or other similar experiences gained in other companies), and other characteristics that ability to jobs, and have some license/proof which those jobs required such as high school diploma or driver's license.

Qualifications for Jobs that Employers are Seeking and Using

Next it is helpful to consider what qualifications are required to rise from the bottom level or lower wage level jobs to upper positions or/and higher wages. It is expected that it depends on the kind of jobs and positions. There are many job and skill requirements. However, educators need to define some basic specific qualifications to assist the transition from school to work for graduates. Not only which skills but, also how these skills are used is a significant matter.

Here is a sample that defined some specific qualifications for a job from the manufacturing industry. These qualification requirements were taken from a job posting and it created a selection criteria to get that kind of job (extruder operator, some kind of machine operator, pay $11.50 start). In this job announcement, qualifications which are expected by the employer for that job consist of education and/or experience, language skills, mathematical skills, reasoning ability. There are other significant expectations, such as physical demands announced or not.

Education and/or Experience: "High school diploma or general education degree (GED) or one to three months related experience and/or training; or equivalent combination of education and experience".

Education and/or experience are qualifications required for most high paying jobs. In our sample, there is an indication that experience and education can be reversed to some degree. In many job postings at the company level I observed that education and/or experience are being sought. If education can be replaced with experience, we may think that employers are seeking the employability side of the education, especially for a defined job. Education is being provided in schools but experience is being provided mostly in work places. It shows that actually the labor market provides human capital through the employment process because employment creates experience. It is important to know how much educational time is equal to how much experience, or vice versa. I saw a few job postings that showed a few months experience or a few months on-the-job-training as equal to a high school graduation degree to match required qualifications to apply to those jobs. So, many other qualifications which schools try to provide for young people may not be needed for a job and, because of this reason, employers do not care about them. But here we can see that many non-vocational subjects actually are being used as part of any job. Language skills, mathematical skills and reasoning ability as a requirement of getting a job, were defined in a job posting (here for extruder operator). **Language Skills:** "Ability to read and interpret documents such as safety rules, operating and maintenance instructions, and procedure manuals. Ability to write routine reports and correspondence. Ability to speak effectively before groups of customers or employees of organization". **Mathematical Skills:** "Ability to calculate figures and amounts such as discounts, interest, commissions, proportions, percentages, area, circumference, and volume. Ability to apply concepts of basic algebra and geometry". **Reasoning Ability:**

"Ability to apply commonsense understanding to carry out detailed but uninvolved written or oral instructions. Ability to deal with problems involving a few concrete variables in standardized situations".

There was another job opening (regrind coordinator) and this job's requirements also included some general skills with work and organizational environment such as computer data entry skills, good organization skills, good communication skills, good math skills, high school diploma or GED, good attendance, safety record and fork truck license.

These skills are not simply a part of a vocational education but are part of a general (liberal, academic) education. Some researchers also showed us that the expectations of employers from their employees are basic skills more than technical skills. Here also I observed in the working period, qualifications which were required for announced jobs such as academic and general skills more than vocational skills, even though the jobs are industrial kinds such as machine operators. Could we say that it is enough to run all industry with persons who have a general education and some (not more than three months) on the job training?

In my working period in the goods-producing industry, I observed that machines frequently broke down. Operators tried to fix the problem, but mostly they needed technicians to fix it. I concluded from what I observed that experience and education sometimes may exchange, but not in every circumstance. Specific occupational skills and other employable skills may not be substitude in every circumstance even together with short-term training and experience

Employment agencies also define some specifications to carry on working with employees and these are mostly related with work attitude, such as: be on time, dress appropriately, convey a friendly, professional attitude; if you finish your work early, let your

supervisor know and ask for additional work, cooperate with fellow employees, respect the company's work methods and equipment, keep confidential business inside the company, ask how you can be helpful and contribute to the success of the company. It seems that this type of practical behavior is seen as very important by employers, especially to access upper level positions.

It seems to me that these skills and behavioral attitudes create required qualifications to enter some kinds of jobs. But as a whole, the educational system cannot provide all in one type of program without cooperation with the business world. Even if it is technically possible, it is not a good way when we take into account cost-effectiveness. On the other hand, it is clear that the business world needs the educational system to create some basic skills and attitudes that will be helpful in the employment process. Employers announced some specific skills other than being a high school graduate. They think graduates' skill levels are different even if all have graduated at the same level of education. I never saw any announcement or criteria about grade point avarage, academic achievement, or any grade from any exam as important for being preferred for a job.

Physical Demands: Actually, physical demands are also a part of basic qualifications for jobs. It should be taken into account to evaluate the directions of youngsters for education and/or work. No one likes to get a physically hard job that requires one to stand all day long or all night. This makes a choice about easier jobs with low rates instead of hard jobs with high rates. It seems that most jobs require some physical demand, especially for drop-out and non-college bound youngsters. What type of physical demands may be expected? In the service-producing company, all employees had to be able to lift up to 70 lb. packages quickly. While performing the jobs, being fast is an important expectation for employers, or supervisors because every hierarchic level is being supervised by a higher level about what they have

produced in a unit time. Sometimes this supervision was being converted as a tool to force employees to work harder. During the working period, most questions from young peers to me were "how hard is the job? How you handle it?". Work design, speed or job necessities generally requires workers to work faster or harder than they prefer. Here a sample for physical demands , announced in a job posting for extruder operator at the manufacturing company: "while performing the duties of this job, the employee is regularly required to stand. The employee frequently is required to walk, use hands to finger, handle, or feel objects, tools, or controls, reach with hands and arms, and talk or hear. The employee is occasionally required to climb or balance and stoop, kneel, crouch, or crawl. The employee must regularly lift and/or move up to 25 pounds, frequently lift and/or move up to 50 pounds, and occasionally lift and/or move up to 100 pounds".

Employees' Ideas About Being Hired

These demands mentioned above were announced as skills by employers for hiring an employee. On the other hand, what are employees thinking about important qualifications to be hired?

I talked to employees in the manufacturing industry while performing our jobs together with others, and none were thinking that education was important to be hired for entry-level jobs. Employees often mentioned behavior such as working well, working hard, doing what supervisors say, being on time at work, using head even not too much. I asked them whether education affected being hired. They do not think that education affect hiring. If they think that way, why should they take into account the education, except to get a university or college degree. If they think that education does not help to be hired and educational skills are not necessary for jobs, what is the meaning of education? Other than general producing employees, I talked to a technician about the education and employment relationship. He graduated from a 4- year technical school. Contrary to

other ideas, he thinks that knowledge gained from school matches job necessities in the higher levels. He mentioned that he got his job easily by applying to the firm with his resume. He believes that more education makes more money.

Conclusions

According to the study, I can mention the following main conclusions:

- Part-time or temporary work has a vital impact on the employment market. This type of employment supports the segmentation theories. Especially in the primary market, these positions provide a selection and waiting place. But, there is not a detailed selection criteria or any educational qualifications to enter those types of jobs.
- Job search time to enter entry level jobs for youngsters (where I observed) does not take a long time. Applicants found the entry level jobs in a relatively short time if they accepted a market wage level.
- Education is not a selection criteria to enter entry level jobs. Even grade and academic achievement or school level is not an important indicator to enter entry-level jobs. But some educational indicators and qualifications are being used to select the employee for upper level jobs from entry level jobs, or from the external market.
- While hiring for internal labor market jobs, educational qualifications such as being a graduate from high school graduate, math, language, and reasoning abilities are important and are being used as criteria but grades and academic achievement in school are not. Physical strength also is an important qualification for many kinds of jobs. On the other hand, some general requirements about working, such as being on time, working good, hard and fast; dressing appropriate for the workplace are more stressed in the workplaces as significant behavior.
- Education and training or experience can be exchanged in hiring. Employers are interested in education while emphasizing mostly some certain employability skills. A high school degree may be

equal to a short time training or experience to get a full time primary market job. However, employers emphasize basic and academic skills and knowledge more than vocational skills when hiring. This gives the credit to educational degrees, because these skills and knowledge can be learned in long term instead of in a short term training.

Policy Implications

Entry level jobs are the most visible part of the employment market. Temporary hiring is also being supported by employers and it is being used as a selection tool for appropriate workers to access upper level positions. This process can cause a misunderstanding in youth such as education and academic achievement and/or academic skills as not being important to get a job. So why should they study too much in the school?

These conclusions should cause us to think about some policy and behavior implications that are related to both sides of education and work relationships. Employers can design their selection criteria more clearly to include some educational indicators that match the skills they are seeking.

Paying criteria may support educational qualifications, not only for upper level but also entry level. These provide the signal for high school students who especially are work-bound. But, at the same time, the educational system must provide the opportunities to all citizens and age populations equally. Otherwise, paying for educational qualifications may carry the current inequalities to the future.

Educators should think of education as a whole for individuals, society, work, and life. All students should be aware of which specifications are important in life after school for jobs and to enter the business world. They should be aware of that not only being graduated from high school but also learning and being able to apply what they have learned are very important in the work world and, of course, in the life after school.

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